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A  
FULL AND AUTHENTIC  
A C C O U N T  
OF THE WHOLE OF THE  
P R O C E E D I N G S  
IN  
WESTMINSTER-HALL,  
ON SATURDAY THE 14TH FEB. 1784;  
AT A  
G E N E R A L M E E T I N G  
OF THE  
ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,  
CONVENED BY PUBLIC ADVERTISEMENT :

CONTAINING

The genuine Speeches of Sir Cecil Wray, Lord Mahon, Lord Mountmorres, and Dr. Jebb ; with a full and particular statement of the cause of the Meeting ; and occasional Notes. Including an authentic copy of the Address presented to his Majesty by Sir Cecil Wray ; a complete Account of the Proceedings in the Court of Requests on Tuesday the 10th instant ; and also Copies of the several Resolutions agreed to in Westminster Hall.

Together with a pointed and seasonable Address to the Independent Electors of the City of Westminster.

L O N D O N  
PRINTED FOR J. STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE  
BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

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TO THE  
INDEPENDENT ELECTORS  
OF THE  
CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** Pay no compliment to my feelings, when I own, how much they are hurt in putting together the following sheets, and sure I am, you all of you lament with me the unhappy occasion. Though urged to it by the justice we owe our country, to expose the designs of those who, under a shew of public virtue, would make the people the instrument of their private views, it is a task that saddens the mind, indeed, when the mask is to be stripped from those, who have long been received into the closest embraces of the public, and affectionately pressed to its bosom as their real and genuine friends. However irresistible the duty, we must deplore the necessity, and pause even at the censure, that every virtuous principle must adopt, and justify.

Whoever reviews the politics of this country, but for a few months past, will find them to exhibit

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hibit a spectacle, as novel in itself, as it is disgraceful to mankind. Political Impostors, indeed, will always be found, till no longer able to float on the surface of public credulity, they sink into the abyss of general contempt, and Revolutions in *public* as well as in *private* life, must naturally be expected. Mr. Fox is not the *first* man that has fallen from the heights of popularity, but the *degree* of his descent, and the *rapidity* of it, stand equally unexampled in the annals of the world.

No public character ever had a fairer claim to the support of the people, than Mr. Fox had to your suffrages. The reception you gave him, when he offered to serve you as your representative in Parliament, was at once noble and generous. The manner in which you distinguished him, was every way suited to his merit, and the expectations you formed of his talents. With a pride that did you honour, you elected him one of your Members, and seated him as your idol in the House of Commons—in that illustrious senate, Gentlemen, where his eloquence had so often burst forth against the American war, and the authors of it—in that illustrious Senate, Gentlemen, where he taught us to look up to him with love, and respect, for a ten years opposition to a Minister, whose conduct, not in any particular instance, but in general, he had so pointedly



pointedly and so uniformly condemned, and pronounced deserving the scaffold, and of so criminal a nature, as to render that person the most infamous of mankind, that should be found base enough to enter his threshold.

It is observable, that some of the greatest men, in every age, have left a splendid name, or odious character, for the admiration, or contempt of posterity, as the period of their lives may have happened at a fortunate, or unfortunate juncture of their history. Would to Heaven, Mr. Fox, had not existed to form a coalition with one, whose *system* as a Minister, and whose *principles* as a Man, he had toiled through so many a debate, in holding forth as an object of universal execration, and condign punishment ! Then might *he* have died respected, and have had his name entombed in the hearts of his fellow countrymen, nor have lived to experience the reverse of his popularity, and long enough to be cut off from every hope of regaining the opinion of the public, or of ever dying in its esteem.

While you must regret the event, you have the consolation to reflect, that it brings no charge against your *gratitude*. By the Statute Laws, an accessary after the fact makes himself a criminal, and it was impossible you could support your

Representative, after he had leagued himself with a man, he had for so many years declared to have plundered you. The art and sophistry of interested writers, so industriously employed in the public prints, will be exhausted in attempting to gloss over this union, without effecting any thing further by it, than that of raising a more than ordinary degree of astonishment at their effrontery. In speculative points, the reasoning of a BURKE may be successfully used, and a particular purpose may be worked. In matters of fact, the people will judge, and think for themselves, nor will it ever be in the power of any individual, however great his name, or high his authority, to argue them out of a plain case, that is plain to every understanding.

The disapprobation you have so publicly expressed of the conduct of Mr. Fox, is universally approved of. It is impossible he can feel the opposition of a body of men without pain, whose support gave him so sincere a pleasure. The treatment you have dealt out to him, however, is exemplary and just. Mr. Fox will see the folly, to say no worse of the part he has acted, of forming a connection for the purpose of getting into power by the sacrifice of the confidence of the people, which he once thought so dear to him, and which he ought not to have forfeited but  
with

with his life, knowing, as he must have known, that the opinion of the public was the basis of all his greatness, and that with the foundation, the vast superstructure raised on it would immediately fall to the ground ; and it will at the same time, hold out a lesson to future Candidates for your favours, and teach them by his example, not to abandon their principles, or betray the cause of the people.

Your refusing even to hear Mr. Fox address you, shews how much his conduct has incensed you, and must be sufficiently mortifying to one, who formerly commanded your silence, mingled with every mark of respect and adoration. A period, however, very possibly is near at hand, when your disapprobation of him will be expressed in still more decided terms. A dissolution of Parliament is thought to be at no great distance, when an opportunity will, no doubt, be seized, of giving a full scope to your resentment, by refusing him your suffrages at a general re-election of the Representatives of the people, unless, and which, indeed, is more probable, he should prudent enough *to take the advice of his friends*, and by declining any further offer of his services, avoid the disgrace of being publicly exposed to your rejection and contempt.

Feb. 16, 1784.

*As*

*An Account of the PROCEEDINGS of the ELECTORS  
of WESTMINSTER &c.*

**O**N Monday the 9th of February, James Sayer, Esq. Deputy Steward, accompanied by Sir Cecil Wray, one of the Representatives in Parliament for the City of Westminster, waited on his Majesty at St. James's, with the following Address, entitled

The Address of the Dean, High Steward, Deputy Steward, two Chief Burgeses, Burgeses, Assistant Burgeses, and other Householders of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Dean, High Steward, Deputy Steward, two Chief Burgeses, Burgeses, Assistant Burgeses, and other Householders of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Dean, High Steward, Deputy Steward,  
two



two Chief Burgesſes, Burgeſſes, Aſſiſtant Burgeſſes, and other Houſeholders of the City and Liberry of Weſtminſter, beg leave to approach your Throne with the moſt zealous aſſurances of loyalty to your perſon, family, and government.

It was with the utmoſt concern that we beheld an attempt made by your Maſteſty's late Miniſters, to deprive a great Commercial Company of their Chartered Rights, by the Bill brought into Parliament; which, had it paſſed into a law, would have been a dangerous precedent, and created a new executive power unknown to the conſtitution of this country.

We moſt ſincerely thank your Maſteſty for the diſmiſſion of thoſe Miniſters from their employments; and aſſure your Maſteſty that we have great confidence in the principles of the preſent Adminiſtration, and that whiſt they purſue meaſures conducive to the honour of the Crown, and the true intereſts of their country, they may ſafely rely on the ſupport of the people.

This Addreſs was ſigned by 2834 perſons.

This addreſs was no ſooner preſented, than it was ſaid to have been *ſmuggled*, or *ſurreptitiouſly* obtained

obtained, and this charge was circulated through every public print, and whispered in every place, where the friends of Mr. Fox came, notwithstanding the *absurdity* was again and again pointed out to them of an accusation of such a nature against an address, that bore the names of *two thousand eight hundred and thirty four Electors*. Though the egregious nonsense, and abominable stupidity of reporting a paper to have been smuggled, that was signed by no less than *two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four persons*, was strikingly apparent to every one, and what no man open to reason and conviction, could possibly deny, still it was insisted upon by Mr. Fox's Friends, that this Address, so signed, had been procured in a *secret* manner. The real Representative of the People, conscious that the Address had been obtained in a fair and honourable way, and that if opportunity offered, a similar one would be signed by a still greater number of Electors, it was judged advisable to have a General Meeting, that the sense of the Electors might be openly taken, instead of attempting to get the better of the *obstinacy* of Mr. Fox's Friends. It was, therefore, agreed upon between both parties, that a General Meeting should be called by public Advertisement on Tuesday the 10th of February, which was accordingly done.

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In the mean time, the following resolution appeared in the public papers, of a body of the Electors *partially* convened, and *avowedly* the immediate friends of Mr. Fox :

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER, assembled at the Shakespear Tavern, Covent-Garden, on THURSDAY, Feb. 5, 1784,

THOMAS BYRON, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that any address assuming signatures without the express consent of the parties, or obtained by private solicitation, without public notice, is contrary to the usual open and constitutional mode of addressing the Crown, and an imposition on the country \*.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the Parliamentary conduct of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, has been consonant to the practice and  
C principles

\* This resolution contains such a reasonable and self-evident axiom, that it is impossible not to subscribe to it ; but it surely does not at all apply to the address presented by Sir Cecil Wray, as that address did not *assume signatures without the express consent of the parties*, nor was it *obtained by private solicitation*.

principles of the constitution, as established at the glorious Revolution, and such as to entitle him to the continuance of the perfect esteem and confidence of his constituents†.

THOMAS BYRON, Chairman.

On Tuesday the 10th of February, a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the Electors of Westminster was convened in the Court of Requests, Westminster-Hall.

About twelve o'clock, not less than three thousand Electors being present, Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. was unanimously called to the Chair, who commenced the business with a declaration of his conduct in Parliament, and hoped it had merited their approbation; this declaration was received with the greatest applause, and every testimony that was due to the exemplary conduct of their worthy Representative.

Lord

† Mr. Fox, for ten years, arraigned the conduct of Lord North ‡, and pledged himself to the public to bring him to the scaffold; and after being the chief means of getting him removed from his Majesty's council, formed a coalition with him, and acted with him in administration. Pray, Mr. Byron, is that a conduct to entitle him *to the esteem and confidence of his constituents?*

‡ Vide *Beauties and Deformities of Fox, North, and Burke*, Printed for J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.



Lord Mahon opened the business with an able speech, in which he entered largely into the merits of the present Administration, discussed the conduct of the late Ministers with regard to the Receipt Tax and the East India Bill; his Lordship declared he had been uniformly against the American War, and joined in the opposition which had been successful against Lord North's Administration; his Lordship said, he could not conceive the propriety or consistency of voting a Minister out one day and joining with him the next, and reprobated the Coalition in the most pointed and severe manner, which was received with general approbation; he then recommended it to the people to agree to an Address, precisely in the same form with that which had been presented to his Majesty, and signed by 2834 persons; that the common cause of this country was involved in the support of the present Administration, and hoped it would meet with general approbation. He was seconded by Sir Robert Smith, Bart.

Lord Mountmorres spoke for a considerable time with much energy, and was heard with the greatest attention. His Lordship declared that the people of Ireland had but one voice; and that was, to support the father of his people in the

maintenance of his just prerogatives against the invaders of the British Constitution.

Sir Cecil Wray then read the Address, and upon a small clamour arising from those who were just come into the Court of Requests, he very justly observed, that he hoped, if any diversity of opinion prevailed, that they would conduct themselves with temper and propriety, without warmth or insult; that such a conduct was only becoming the Shakespear\*.

The Address was then read, and is as follows:

“ To the King’s most Excellent Majesty.

“ The humble Address of the Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster, beg leave to approach your Throne with the most zealous assurances of loyalty to your person, family, and government.

\* A Tavern in Covent Garden, where the *Friends* of Mr. Fox meet, as the *Electors of Westminster*, and insult those who do not agree with them in every thing.

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" It was with the utmost concern that we beheld an attempt made by your late Ministers, to deprive a great commercial Company of their Chartered Rights by the Bill brought into Parliament, which, had it passed into a law, would have been a dangerous precedent, and created a new executive power unknown to the Constitution of this country.

" We most sincerely thank your Majesty for the dismissal of those Ministers from their employments, and assure your Majesty, that we have great confidence on the principles of the present Administration, and that whilst they pursue measures conducive to the honour of the Crown and the true interests of their country, they may safely rely on the support of the people."

The following Resolutions were then read, and approved of, with less than ten dissenting voices :

1st. Resolved, That the Address to his Majesty (moved by Lord Viscount Mahon, and seconded by Sir Robert Smyth, Bart.) be approved of by this meeting :

2d. Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. our worthy Representative, for his steady, uniform, upright,

upright, and patriotic conduct in Parliament, and that he be requested to present the Address of the Electors of Westminster to his Majesty.

3d. Resolved, That the Westminster Committee be continued, and have full power to make all regulations relative to the same; and that the following persons be added to the said Committee.

(The names of one hundred persons were then read, and unanimously approved of.)

4th. Resolved, (unanimously,) That we will unremittingly persevere in our exertions to procure an effectual and substantial Reform of Parliament, in order that the Commons House of Parliament may have a common interest with, and may speak the voice of the People.

5th. Resolved, (unanimously) That this meeting be adjourned, to Westminster Hall, to Saturday morning next.

The Meeting then broke up, and it is but justice to say, that there never was a more respectable body of electors assembled upon any occasion.

The reason of the Meeting being adjourned to the Saturday following, was, in consequence of a complaint



complaint made by Mr. Fox's friends, who contended, that the opponents of that gentleman had occupied the Court of Requests at an early hour, and crowded it in such a manner, that none else could obtain admission into it, for which reason they demanded another General Meeting, to be held in Westminster-Hall, where the Meeting of that day could not be held, on account of the sittings of the Courts of Law, and Saturday being the first day the Hall would be at their service, a general Meeting of the Electors was called together by the following Advertisement, inserted in all the public papers :

GENERAL MEETING of the ELECTORS of WEST-  
MINSTER.

The Sittings of the Courts of Justice having made it necessary to postpone the Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, as originally proposed for Tuesday the 10th instant, Notice is hereby given that the said Meeting will be held on Saturday next, the 14th, at Twelve o'clock, (being the first day on which the Hall will be disengaged) when the independent Electors are requested to attend, in order to consider of an humble Address to his Majesty on the present critical situation of Public Affairs.

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The public prints, at least such of them as could be *hired* for the purpose, were every day trumpetting it aloud to the public, that the Meeting to be held on Saturday, would collect the true sense and opinion of the Majority of the People of Westminster. The Meeting, in fact, was at the express desire of Mr. *Fox*, and summoned by him, in order to procure an Address, counter to that signed by 2834 Freeman, and presented by Sir *Cecil Wray* to his Majesty. Every nerve was strained—every effort was made—every promise was given—and every lure held out, in order to fill the Hall with Mr. *Fox*'s friends—and what was the effect?

The Meeting was appointed at twelve o'clock. Lord *Mabon*, and his friends were to come down at eleven, and to assemble at Alice's Coffee House. At half past eleven they met, Lord *Mountmorres* only excepted, who was on the Hustings at a quarter past ten. At a quarter past eleven Mr. *Fox*'s friends made their appearance on the Hustings, but Lord *Mountmorres*'s objections to any business being done till Twelve, it was agreed to.

Mr. *Fox* and Sir *Cecil Wray*, about twelve, took their stations on the Hustings, surrounded by a prodigious concourse of Electors, amongst whom  
were

were Lord Mahon, Lord Mountmorres, Earl Surry, Lord Ongley, Earl Derby, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Byng, Mr. Baker, Mr. Adam, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir Watkin Lewes, Colonel North, Dr. Jebb, Sir Charles Bunbury, Honourable Major Stanhope, Honourable Colonel Fitzpatrick, Mr. Edmund Burke, Colonel Byron, and a great number of other Electors of fortune and distinction.

By twelve o'clock the cry of "Chair!" "Chair!" vociferated through the Hall, and the shew of hands evidently appeared in favour of Sir Cecil Wray; but just as he was going to seat himself, the platform of the Hustings broke down, which affording the partizans of Mr. Fox an opportunity of wrecking their vengeance on the Chair to which Sir Cecil Wray had been called, they broke it into pieces, and held up the arms as trophies of their victory\*.

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\* The following paragraph appeared in some of the newspapers, fabricated, and paid for, by the friends of Mr. Fox:

"In this state of things, the Hustings broke in, and several noblemen and gentlemen were thrown down and trampled on. The pressure of the populace soon overthrew the front of the Hustings, by which means scarcely a place was for a moment tenable, and every body was in imminent danger, in a contest on the Hustings which member should be brought forward; but Mr. Fox's party being too numerous, he

This *fracas* being happily adjusted without an individual sustaining damage, Mr. Fox was forced into a chair procured for the purpose, and he several times attempted to harrangue the meeting ; but the Hall by this time being so full as not to admit the entrance of twenty persons, the hootings, hisses, catcalls, and other discordant tokens of disapprobation, obstructed every effort made by Mr. Fox to captivate the multitude with his eloquence.

Mr. Byng then proposed, that the friends of each party should divide. This was instantly accepted ; but the numbers being so manifestly inimical to Mr. Fox, it was judged prudent to decline this mode of determining the sense of the Meeting.

Mr. Byron then came forward with a paper in

he was supported in the front, amidst the most violent noises, acclamations, and huzzas we ever remembered to have heard. The cry of Chair, Chair, Chair, resounded from every quarter of the Hall, when the Hustings gave way a second time, and in the confusion Mr. Fox fell. In this situation some wretch, for man we cannot call him, threw a leather bag ; filled with assafœtida, in the face of Mr. Fox. To this public injury, we may add one of a more private but more horrid nature, an anonymous letter threatening his life, to which he paid the proper attention, taking no notice of it,



in his hand; but it being known that he was the friend of Mr. Fox, his harrangue was like addressing the tumultuous ocean.

Mr. Fox made another effort to speak; but the words "Off! Off!" and "Down with him!" "No Coalition!" "No Dictator!" became so prevalent, that he thought it prudent to quit the chair his friends had usurped for him, and retire several paces backwards to the Court of Common Pleas. Here he was confronted by Lord Mahon, who waving his hat, the Hall resounded with acclamations; and the situation of Mr. Fox becoming evidently more perilous, the curtain which separates the Court of Common Pleas from the Hall was dropped, on which a general cry of "*Who's behind the curtain now!*" prevailed.

Lord Mahon then stepped forward, leaving Mr. Fox in that obscure situation; and his Lordship was immediately lifted on the shoulders of the Electors, and borne to the other side of the Hall, amidst the general acclamations of the meeting. In this position, and in direct opposition to Mr. Fox, he addressed the Electors in the following terms:

*"Independent Electors of Westminster,*

"I have ever proved myself a friend to the liberties of the people. I am an enemy to the

*Receipt Tax.* I wish for a reform of Parliament. I detest that system of corruption by which taxes have been multiplied ; and the price of provisions enhanced. I am against all coalitions with a man who was the author of the American war. The East India Bill was designed to plunder Asia, and enslave this country. It was a measure calculated only to enable one of your Representatives to get himself and his friends into power. No Receipt Tax therefore ; no East India Bill ; a Reform of Parliament ; and a House of Commons which shall speak the real sense of the people. These great purposes will be answered if the present Ministers are supported against the infamous attempts of a Coalition, which is only designed to sacrifice measures to men, the welfare of the nation to the private interest of Mr. Fox and a faction. The last time we met, which was on Tuesday, you agreed to address his Majesty, thanking him for dismissing his late Ministers. Let us now confirm this measure.

His Lordship then exhibited a parchment on which was the following sentence :

“ RESOLVED, That this Meeting of the  
 “ Electors do confirm all the proceedings  
 “ adopted in the Court of Requests on Tuesday  
 “ last.”

His

His Lordship putting the question, the shew of hands were, at the lowest computation, *nine to one in favour of the Resolution.*

Mr. Fox finding it impossible to be heard, now left the Hall, amidst the *groans* and *bisses* of the people \* 1

Lord

\* The following *curious* account was given in some of the public prints of Mr. Fox after his retreat from the Hall :

At half past twelve, the meeting was adjourned, and Mr. Fox, who was prevented from being heard in the Hall, leaving about fifty Electors behind, and carried on the shoulders of several Electors from Westminster Hall to the King's Arms Tavern, when he came into the Committee Room, almost overpowered with heat and fatigue. The Electors, who had accompanied him, almost to a man, from the Hall to the tavern, waited in Palace-yard, and soon after

Mr. Fox came forward to the front bow window of the Tavern in Palace-yard, which being taken out, in order to give him room and conveniency, he addressed the Electors as follows :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Nothing can be more flattering to me, or give me greater happiness, than this public opportunity of addressing this astonishingly numerous and respectable body of my constituents, the Electors of Westminster.

“ I should have been happy if I could have succeeded in my intentions of addressing you in the public Hall. I should there

Lord Mahon, Lord Mountmorres, Dr. Jebb,  
Mr. Churchill, Major Cartwright, Lord Ongley,  
Mr. Sebby and others, then chaired Sir Cecil  
*Wray,*

there have explained the motives of my conduct to my constituents; but the clamours of a hired noisy party, prevented my design—

“ Gentlemen, You are all able to judge of the goodness of that cause, when those who espouse it are afraid of their opponents being heard—

“ Let me repeat it, that it gives me inexpressible happiness to explain my conduct to you—You will find I have never deserted your cause: I shall find likewise that you have not deserted me. The former is impossible—was you even to desert yourself, I never would desert you.

“ Gentlemen, The very noble, the very disinterested, and the very magnanimous manner in which you honoured me with your choice of Representative, claimed all my attention, assiduity, and adherence; and I trust you have found by my conduct, I have neither deserted the cause of my constituents, nor my own principles—To do either, I must desert myself and them too. If you desert me, you erect Court Influence, because it is Court Influence I oppose.

“ Gentlemen, You called me to Parliament to stem the torrent of corruption, to reform the abuses of your constitution, and above all to oppose the destructive principle of Court Influence.

“ If purging the House of Commons of a number of venal contractors; if reforming several abuses in the expenditure of public monies; if setting myself up as the opposer  
of



*Wray*, amidst the acclamations of the Electors,  
not fifty of them having left the Hall with Mr.

Fox,

of Court Influence, and being turned out of office because I did oppose it, discovers a change of sentiment. I then have changed my sentiments. But I flatter myself you have seen, and know enough of yourselves, to be well assured, that by maintaining the dignity of the House of Commons against the secret advisers, and the influence, of the Crown, I have maintained your cause; and that by that maintenance I shall still have your support.

“ Gentlemen, I have maintained the dignity of the House of Commons against the corrupt and unconstitutional proceedings of the House of Lords—because the House of Commons are *your* representatives, and not the House of Lords.

“ If you desert the representatives, who thus support your dignity against Court influence, you elect the House of Lords for your representatives, and then you can be no longer said to represent yourselves. Will you then have a House of Lords or a House of Commons to represent you? If you support my adversaries, who set you at defiance, and who trample the greatest of all your privileges, the spirit, the authority, and the dignity of the House of Commons under their feet, you are no longer represented. The House of Lords then betray you, and the Crown nominates what Minister it pleases, to deprive the people of England of all that remains dear to them, the freedom of their choice in parliament, and their share in the government of the nation.

“ It is upon these principles the present Ministers is come into power, and upon these principles he supports himself.

He

Fox, when Sir Cecil Wray being called to the Chair, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen,

"Ever happy to meet my Constituents, that pleasure is redoubled when my conduct meets their approbation.

"In  
He stands supported by the secret influence of the Crown, and the unconstitutional interference of the House of Lords, which sets your freedom and power at defiance.

"Gentlemen, I need not tell you that the present Administration were the greatest enemies to the reform of abuses, nor that they supported the American war—you, who live near the scene of action, who surround the Court, and who daily see and know the reality of parliamentary proceedings, are not to be duped by the arts and duplicity of Court adherents, and the supporters of Court influence—you will know a man before you elect him, and when elected, you can see him, hear him, and prove him—When proved, it is neither the Minister of the Crown, the paltry efforts of Peers, nor the Secret Influence of that Crown, which will make you abandon him.

"Gentlemen—I have been twice called to the office of Secretary of State, since first I had the honor of your disinterested approbation. When I found your cause deserted in the Cabinet, your measures miscarry, and my principles overpowered, I resigned—I resigned, because, if I had continued in office, I should have deserted my principles—I should have deserted you—I gave up office, I gave up honors, and I gave up emolument, rather than forfeit your confidence. This was the first time I proved my attachment

ment

In this instant to see so numerous and respectable a Meeting, zealous in the support of the just right of the Crown, and the liberty of the people, is joy unutterable.

Is there one amongst you who does not execrate the

ment to you—did it look like betraying you? could I have any other ground for my resignation than your confidence, and the good opinion of the public, which is inseparably connected with my own honor and conscience?

“ I was again called into office, and for what purpose? To bring forward a burthen of taxes, some of them unpopular, that I, and those who acted with me, might have the odium of the measure, and bear all the weight which its unpopularity might occasion—I mean the Receipt Tax.

“ Gentlemen, In the situation I now am, I have an opportunity of seeing more, standing so high above you, than you can possibly have beneath—I see a far more numerous body here than that assembled in the Hall, multitudinous as even that was, but in the Hall I could not be heard—Here I am honoured with a silence that reflects the greatest honour on me, and the highest credit on yourselves. The observation I make is, that my opponents prevented by clamour and an hired mob, what they were afraid to hear, and that the more numerous the Electors, the more attention I am heard with. One obvious truth deducible from which is, that I am happy in the approbation of a very large majority of my constituents.

“ Gentlemen, I have only one word more to say to you. The true simple question of the present dispute is, whether the House of Lords and Court Influence shall predominate

the Coalition?—Is there one amongst you who does not feel the effects of the accursed American War?—A war in which the burthens on the people have daily increased.—A war to which we owe the loss of the brightest jewel of the Empire—America.

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over the House of Commons, and annihilate its existence? or, whether the House of Commons, whom you elected, shall have a power to maintain the privileges of the people, to support its liberties, and check the unconstitutional proceedings of a House of Lords, whom you never elected; and regulate the prerogative of the Crown, which was ever too ready to seize upon the freedom of the Electors of this country? The question is short: It is you who are to determine it; and to you whom I appeal—To my constituents I shall always appeal, and no longer wish them to support me, than I support the principles on which they sent me to Parliament.

“ Gentlemen, I again return you my sincere thanks for your very candid hearing, and your approbation of my conduct, which it will ever be my study to preserve.”

When Mr. Fox had finished his address, which was received with great approbation, at the conclusion of every sentence, he retired from the window of his carriage, from which the horses were taken, and he was drawn by the populace up Parliament-street, round the Statue of Charles, at Charing-cross, through Cockspur street, along Pall-mall, St. James's, and Piccadilly, to the Duke of Devonshire's house, amidst the acclamations of near ten thousand people, who expressed their disapprobation as they passed the Treasury, Lord Temple's, &c. &c. At Carleton-House were repeatedly given regular huzzas, and at Lord Temple's, a wag held up a key tied to a stick, hung round with crape, which



The Receipt Tax (one of these burthens) is more peculiarly felt by you, my Constituents—Your efforts to crush it have been steady, but ineffectual—nor have your instructions to your Representatives to oppose it on every occasion been lost on me,

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His

which he called *the Secret Influence Key in mourning*. We are very happy to inform our readers, that the whole, on Mr. Fox's side, was conducted with the utmost regularity, and no mischief was done, except a window broke at Lord Temple's, occasioned by the imprudence of some of his Lordship's female servants, who threw something from the upper story upon the people. At Devonshire House Mr. Fox addressed the electors to the following effect :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I thank you for the trouble you have taken, in conducting me here, and as I am much fatigued I hope you will leave me here, as I am as much at home as at my own house. I hope I shall always have your support against the attacks of secret influence.

“ I beg leave to propose what I mentioned in Westminster-Hall, which, from the opposition of a hired mob, I believe was not heard, to propose an address, expressing your satisfaction at the manly, disinterested conduct of the House of Commons against the attacks of secret influence.”

The Address was then proposed, and agreed to without the disapprobation of a SINGLE voice. After which the multitude retired,

Lord Surry and Major Stanhope rode on the coach-box of Mr. Fox's carriage.

The

His Majesty has given us a Minister—'tis the son of the illustrious Earl of Chatham, a name ever to be recorded in the annals of this Empire—disappointed Faction may wish to dispossess him—but it is the people's interest to support him.—I trust and hope, that by following his father's example, he will be another glory to the name of Pitt.

For

The following is the Address alluded to in the foregoing account:

“ We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects,  
 “ the Electors of the city of Westminster, whose names are  
 “ hereunto subscribed, beg leave to approach your Throne,  
 “ with the most unfeigned attachment to your sacred per-  
 “ son, and to the interest of your Royal Family :

“ To assure your Majesty, that we will use our utmost  
 “ endeavours to promote that unanimity so essential to the  
 “ public welfare in the present critical situation of affairs.

“ And as we have always regarded the Commons House  
 “ of Parliament, as the natural guardian of our unalienable  
 “ Rights, we humbly hope that whatever Ministers your  
 “ Majesty may, in your wisdom, call to the high posts of  
 “ Government, will hold the sense of that House in the  
 “ same respect as their predecessors in office have done,  
 “ from the era of the glorious Revolution to the present  
 “ period.

“ That your Majesty may long reign in the hearts of a  
 “ happy and united people, is the prayer of your faithful  
 “ subjects.”

The

For what should he be depressed? Has he violated the chartered rights of the people?—

Has

The preceding account, evidently manufactured by the desperate pen of a degraded and expiring faction, is so gross an imposition on the Public, and so fully known to be the very reverse of the truth, that without saying a single word by way of contradicting it, it is impossible that any one can give it any belief. There is one part of it, however, by no means false, and that is, that when Mr. Fox left the Hall, there were more People *out of the Hall* than there *were in it*. This is certainly very true, for though Mr. Fox left Sir Cecil Wray with at least *five thousand persons* in the Hall, they could by no means be thought to be any sort of comparison in point of number with *all the rest of the world besides*. There is also another part of this contemptible account, that must not be passed unnoticed. The writer of it positively asserts that Mr. Fox, *not being able to get heard in the Hall*, retired to the King's Arms Tavern, to which place he was accompanied by the Electors *almost to a man*, and heard with the greatest applause. To be sure we cannot dispute this, or accuse the Writer of being either an *Irishman* or a *Liar*, and yet, if when Mr. Fox left the Hall, he took every one away with him, *except about fifty persons*, it certainly remains for us to learn, *how the Devil it happened, that Mr. Fox could not obtain a hearing in the Hall*. There is yet another *trifling* remark, which is, that after all, Mr. Fox did not make *any speech*, at least, was not *heard to make any*, a pretty tolerable reason, with great deference to the writer of Mr. Fox's speech, for believing it to be *erroneous from beginning to end*.

Has he confiscated private property without acknowledging crime?—Has he attempted to establish his power by availing himself of the most extensive influence, ruinous to the very existence of the Constitution—derogatory to the rights of the Executive Magistrate—and uncontrollable by any power but his own?—Let his adversaries say as much.

I speak the language of my heart—I do not boast the gift of eloquence—I beg your opinions—as your Representative to them, I am bound to pay implicit obedience.

Lord Mountmorres then addressed the Electors in the following very excellent speech, which was heard with the utmost attention, and received with loud and repeated bursts of applause.

Lord Mountmorres said, You have been summoned to vote an Address counter to that which has been signed by *two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four* Electors.—What are the arguments for it?—What are the crimes?—Where are the faults laid to the charge of the present Administration?—It is said there have been secret advisers.—If a Nobleman who lately presided in Ireland be *attended* to—happy is the country where such advice and influence prevailed.—The testimony of that kingdom, from the highest to the lowest rank, is that he

rose



rose up early to confer benefits—and night closed upon his indefatigable labours in the public service.

We live, Gentlemen, in a free country; the lowest among us has the common right of taking the best advice he can find—Is the first in rank to be the last in privilege, and to be debarred the advice of one of the best of his subjects?—But suppose I allow that Secret Influence has prevailed—What then—how far—supposing it for the sake of argument to have existed—how far does it go?—Why, certainly no further than to reject an unjust Bill in a great assembly—But can it be formed into the semblance of argument—that the present Administration were nominated by Secret Influence?—To all that has been said on that score—I answer, prove it if you can.—I have always understood, that by the Constitution, Ministers were nominated by the Crown, and not by the House of Commons.—I have seen lately some of the Ordinances of Cromwell—one of them I will read to you from the Journals of the Commons—It is ordered, that the Right Honourable Bulstrode Whitlock be appointed Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal, (*during good behaviour*).

This was the mode of appointing Ministers in the days of Cromwell; but I never heard (except in that instance) of Parliament interfering

tering in their appointment or removal, unless upon a charge of delinquency. So much for their nomination:

But they have not the confidence of the Commons—that is said to be an original fault. I deny it to be an original fault, because no man could tell before hand that they would not have that confidence. He must be endowed with foresight more than human, that could suppose that the successor of the name, virtue, and abilities of Lord Chatham, would not have the confidence of Parliament in a Ministerial capacity; therefore what was not known before hand, could create no original fault.

But they remain in office against the Resolution of the House of Commons—Great are their powers and great their resolutions—But if plain men like us were to come to resolutions, and persevere in them, without assigning any fault or any reason, it would not be held to be a *Resolution*, but a *Caprice*.

Why are their faults concealed, if they have any? Why do they not bring home the charge, assign their reasons, and remove them for their delinquency? The people of these kingdoms at large, and the City of London, wish them to stay in, for their virtues and their abilities.—A great body wish them to go out. Why? Not for a specification of their faults, but because they  
resolved

resolve it. The merits of the last Administration have been mentioned.—Where are they to be found? In the *Middlesex Election*?—In the *American war*?—In the *East India Bill*?—In displacing the Minister who made the peace, and saved the country from ruin, to make room for the author of all our calamities, the promoter of the American war?

I admit the merit of one branch of it, who opposed Lord North's Administration, and removed him from power. But if they ousted that Administration one day, did they not build it up the next by the Coalition?

If one of us should derive credit in our parish, for pulling down a nuisance that annoyed our neighbours one day, and should raise it up the next for our own purpose, where would be our merit with the neighbourhood?

Many respectable names are said to constitute the late Administration.—I thought so once.—Sorry am I to say, that I can think so no longer. I do not admire those who justify change of system and versatility of conduct upon Revolution principles.—I do not admire those who coalesce with the enemies of their country, described as such by themselves. I do not admire those who wish to create a perpetual dictatorship, obstruct national business, attack chartered rights, sequester property without

colour of right; and invest the Minister with the power, dominion, and patronage of the Grand Mogul.

Dr. Jebb represented the evils derived from that source. He observed, that when characters, high in estimation with the country, were guilty of defection from all principle; such conduct had a tendency to lessen the confidence of the public, in men, who hereafter might be disposed to serve it with fidelity and zeal. That it was too apparent, that the object of the Coalition was POWER. That every measure, which had the good of the country in view, had been disregarded. The intercourse with America was encumbered with odious and unnecessary restrictions. The exertions of the Irish nation, in their laudable attempt to purify the corrupt streams of legislation, were overborne by the arts of administration, combined with the aristocratic influence in that country. That a bill had been introduced respecting the East-Indies, subversive of the constitution, and containing regulations, and a form of government, in its consequences more oppressive to the much injured natives, than that corrupt system and unwarrantable domination, which it affected to rectify; and at the same

time,



time, creative of an influence at home which would lead to abuses of the most enormous kind. He declared it to be his opinion, that the parliamentary conduct of Sir Cecil Wray had been truly exemplary; and he trusted, that the future confidence of his constituents would evince their gratitude and affection. He strongly insisted, that the principle of the late Meetings at the St. Albans Tavern was utterly unconstitutional. That it would end, if successful, in the staulishment of an aristocratic power, which it would be impossible for the people to resist or rectify, without great confusion. That the present House of Commons did not either speak the real wishes of the people, nor was its proper representative from hence. Dr. Jebb took occasion to point out the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and the propriety of bringing forward that salutary measure at a crisis so important. That although it was the interest of the community that the just and legal rights of the Crown conceded to it for the general good, should be preserved inviolate, it was still more necessary that the right of the people should be restored. That Ireland was determined to accomplish her purpose; Scotland had manifested a similar disposition; and that it behoved every Englishman, as he valued his

his liberty, the glory of his country, and the good of posterity, to be urgent in his endeavours to effect so salutary a measure—a measure which alone could give vigour and unanimity to the publick counsels, permanency to a wise Administration, and restore virtue to the great body of the people. He declared, that it was his endeavour to address himself to the understandings, not the passions of his audience. That the measure he recommended would abolish faction, and cause freedom, commerce, national honour, and internal prosperity to revive. He pointed out the propriety and the necessity of a general Association in favour of this great object. And, lastly, proposed the motion respecting the Reform in Parliament, which appears in the resolutions of the day. It was ably seconded by Lord Mountmorres, and carried with marks of general satisfaction.

The following Resolutions were moved by Dr. Jebb, and seconded by Lord Mountmorres, and were all carried with very few dissentients.

Resolved first, That this Meeting do approve of and confirm the Address to his Majesty, which was agreed upon in the Court of Requests, Westminster Hall, on Tuesday last.

Secondly, That the Coalition formed between the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and the  
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the Right Hon. Frederick Lord North, was injurious to the cause of Freedom and of Public Virtue; and the conduct of the consequent Administration was highly detrimental to the interests of Great Britain and Ireland.

Thirdly, That it is essential to the cause of Public Freedom, that all ranks and orders of men, should UNITE and ASSOCIATE in favour of a substantial Reform in the Representation of the Commons; and that this, or any Administration, will deserve the support and confidence of the Country, in proportion to the zeal with which they shall bring forward, and endeavour to carry into effect, that salutary measure.

Fourthly, That the parliamentary conduct of Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. has ever been honourable to himself, as well as beneficial to his country—that he is entitled to the warmest gratitude of his constituents, and in the highest degree deserving of their future confidence and support.

Fifthly, (On the motion of the Right Hon. Lord Ongly, which was seconded by the Right Hon. Lord Mountmorres) it was unanimously resolved,

That those men who shall, at this period, endeavour to obstruct the necessary business of the nation, ought to be considered as enemies to their country.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, Resolved (with very few dissentients) That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord Mahon, Lord Mountmorres, and Dr. Jebb.

Seventhly, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Gentlemen who compose the Committee, for conducting the business of the Address of Thanks to his Majesty for dismissing his late unpopular Ministers.

The meeting was then adjourned, and Sir Cecil Wray was chaired to the King's Arms Tavern, amidst other heart-felt acclamations of the Electors.

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing fair and candid statement of the proceedings of the Electors of Westminster, particularly those on Saturday last, naturally presents itself to the Reader. This meeting, avowedly called at the express desire of Mr. Fox, and attended by every one in his interest that could be brought there, was so incensed at his conduct, that the Electors would not even bear him speak, although he again and again attempted, and entreated to be heard; and he was at length obliged to leave the Hall, amidst the GROANS and HISSES of every one, except his own immediate friends. So entire a defeat, even on his own ground, if it does not put a final end to his political career, must surely point out the folly of entertaining a hope, of having any longer your support, or the confidence of the people.

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